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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

577 628 [672] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *máñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kínagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances? Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kadáw's* son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rdy*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kadáw* all the articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rdy* and *Kadáw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kadáw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rdy*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rdy*.

Kadáw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Nevertheless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kadáw* is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kadáw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rdy*, besides getting
627

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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadón*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Káyábo*, a Bolo brave or *sadnal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Káyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rdy* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rdy's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rdy* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Káyábo* said: "*Desirénte, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian who belongs to the *Pa-rdy* faction, saying that I had seen an *andóri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andóri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Káyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Káyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki náyá atáwana ya andórina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andóri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may
437 have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so
685 on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves, are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as *those of your own people*".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo (you lie)*"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception, however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the background.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice. *Anagalukkáp* (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an infallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into amity. [431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatád*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra. We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Foreseeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey, the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadéñ*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rây*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rây*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadéñ* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadéñ*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadéñ* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Mańén: Menses.

Maxatáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Maňatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Mákiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Maňaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *maňa*, syncopated for *maň* and *ka*.

Maňa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *maňa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

834 women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

186 Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They
471 have common interests and often work together in
342 exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

417 Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small
● 628 stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *baran-*
648 *gay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a
676 peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them.
672 Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally
721 responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and
[554] deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

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726 When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

brother to go back home to Dudongan and tell his 000
father that he was dead.

But instead, Abbiwan went to Inpindayan, the 726
home of Himbangonan, to kill her father, Indayo. Upon finding him in the house, Abbiwan thrust his spear at him but missed; and Indayo escaped to the forest.

Then Abbiwan went to Hatan and told him that 000
his son was dead. Afterwards he returned at once to see his dead brother Hinadolan. When Abbiwan reached the iron stockade, he found the people of Dombilan trying to obtain the body of Hinadolan; but not even Abbiwan could reach the top of the iron stockade where Hinadolan was stuck.

As Abbiwan could not obtain the body of Hinadolan, he called on their brother Ewagan to help. By his magical powers, Ewagan turned himself into a firefly and flew up to where Hinadolan still was. The people saw Ewagan as a fire near Hinadolan. Ewagan mourned upon seeing the condition of his brother. Then Ewagan took his brother and flew back down to the ground. When the other brothers had seen Hinadolan, Ewagan called for his friend, Paliahan. When he arrived, Ewagan again carried his brother in his arms to a patch of *sical* grass, where he applied his magic oil all over the body of Hinadolan. All of a sudden Hinadolan was restored to life.

Then the brothers all started for Dombilan to ob- 628
tain revenge. They mingled with the people, who at first did not recognize them. When they did recognize Hinadolan, they became suspicious. Hinadolan was trying to conceal himself. Then Ewagan obtain-

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 574 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one

726 584 weapons also; for it was the custom for a man always to carry his spear, shield and *gaod* with him.

He returned to the house of Bandiyang bringing his trophies with him. All the people joyfully came to celebrate the valor of Angyoban, and the marriage took place soon after.

THE FEUD BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF ALISIT AND KUMAO

628 Many times the peoples of Alisit went to fight the Bulo people. They found no one at home. One time when on their way to Bulo, they became very hungry [476] and stopped in Kumao. It happened that at that time, the people of Kumao were gathering posts for a house. There were many people there to help. They had *basi* to drink. So they offered some to the Alisit people. [517] While sitting on the ground, they talked and had oratorical contests, each contestant telling of their cus- [579] toms. The *maingel of* Kumao was Lindo. They became drunk and got into an angry quarrel. Lindo said [152] to Baliwan, "You are good only for hunting women and not for hunting men." Baliwan became very angry and answered back and struck Lindo with his *gaod*. When Bayao, the son of Lindo, saw Baliwan strike his father, he snatched up his *gaod* to help his father. Then all the warriors were drawn into the fight, and five of the Alisit men were killed. None of the Kumao people were killed.

628 484 Later on, twelve Kumao people were taking a trip to Sulsuna in Ilocos for trading purposes. They

thought that, as they were very few and the people of Alisit were many, the trip would be very dangerous. There were only seven men and three women. So instead of going by the way of Alisit, they went by the way of Langnao to Sulsuna. They reached Sulsuna all right, and on their return trip reached Baliwan; but one man was injured in the foot. The other people wanted to carry him; but he did not like them to as they might meet an enemy, who would kill him as he lay in the sling. So he said that he would walk along slowly. The people of Baliwan were holding a peace-pact feast and wanted the people of Kumao to stay; but they did not want to spend the time or be to the expense. So they went on and came to a field. Some went to get sugar cane and others went to the river. The lame man, Subugay, went on ahead and came into an ambush of Alisit warriors. But they waited until the others came up, and then the many warriors of Alisit attacked. Subugay was wounded in his hand by a spear: but escaped. Two of his companions were killed and three wounded. The Kumao people were all surrounded by the Alisit people; but they managed to get away and hide in the forest. They reassembled, and the Baliwan people helped them to carry their killed and wounded home to Kumao, which they reached about night time.

Then the people of Kumao went to attack the Alisit people. There were many warriors, as they wanted to revenge their relatives. When they reached Bangcarao, they stopped there to wait for anybody who might be passing. Finally two Alisit men came

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726 by. Some of the Kumao warriors wanted to kill the Alisit men; but others objected. However, some threw spears and wounded the two men. But they escaped, ran to the river, and swam across. There they were safe, for the Kumao warriors could not follow.

HOW THE BARANGAY OF BADDUAT GOT ITS NAME

103 During the early days, there was fighting between the southern and northern people of Apayao. One time fighters from both north and south met in a certain place some distance below Lennang and there fought fiercely in hand to hand combat. After the fight, the southern warriors were exhausted for want of food and were lacking in brave men to fight. So they fled for home, scattering for the sake of better safety.

Unfortunately, one of the bravest and most renowned warriors, named Daguit, became confused on the way, as he was weak from hunger and suffering severely from his wounds. For these reasons, Daguit gave up and died in that place. When the other warriors arrived in their homes, he was the one found to be missing. They waited anxiously for him during two days; but in vain. Then they started in search of their missing companion. They found him dead under a tree near a brook which was strange to them. So they named the little brook in honor of Daguit. They called it *Badduat* (meaning—a dangerous place to live) : and so that is its name to this day.